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ABSTRACT

Two papers and four discussion highlights of a conference examining the impact of President Reagan's New Federalism on citizenship responsibilities are presented. The first of two background papers considers the historical context of citizenship and the New Federalism. Separate sections of the paper outline the notion of "the common good," the role of the nation and the state in protecting that right, the contrasting views of Aristotle and Hobbes on the role of the state, and the concept of state held by America's Founding Fathers. The second background paper provides a contemporary perspective on the New Federalism. The impact of the New Federalism on political institutions, businesses, the voluntary sector, educational institutions, and individual citizens is outlined. Highlights of conference proceedings consist of excerpts from the opening speech and general sessions which analyzed the background papers, citizen decision-making under the New Federalism, civic learning in the 1980's, citizenship and the role of the presidency, and the impact of the New Federalism on grassroots movements. The paper concludes with conference recommendations concerning civic values, civic knowledge and skills, and civic responsibility. Lists of conference speakers and attendees are appended. (LP)

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Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum

CITIZENSHIP AND THE NEW FEDERALISM
NEW ROLES FOR CITIZENS IN THE '80s?

Conference Report

SO 014 614

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE
Diane U. Eisenberg 1

INTRODUCTION
R. Freeman Butts 2

BACKGROUND PAPERS
I. Citizenship and the New Federalism: An Historical Perspective
Duane E. Smith 3

II. Citizenship and the New Federalism: A Current Perspective
Harry J. Hogan 6

FORUM HIGHLIGHTS
Excerpts from....
Opening Remarks:
Senator Jennings Randolph 9
General Session I:
Moderator, Linda Wertheimer 11
General Session II:
Moderator, John Buchanan, Jr. 14
General Session III:
Speakers, David Mathews
Margaret Holt 16
General Session IV:
Speaker, Jack Valenti 17
Special C-Span Telecast:
Moderator, Stephen A. Janger 18

RECOMMENDATIONS REPORT
Citizenship Education Agendas for the '80s 19

FORUM SPEAKERS 22

FORUM CONFEREES 23

PREFACE

This publication is a report on the Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum for the Advancement of Citizenship. The Forum was convened by the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship on May 16-18, 1982 at the Georgetown Marbury House in Washington, DC.

The report has been designed and produced, along with a companion "Forum Highlights" audiotape, as both a record of an important deliberative event and as a resource to stimulate similar conversations by others. It is the hope of the Council that through materials such as these, the dialogue generated each year by the Jennings Randolph Forum, on a public issue and its connection to ideas of citizenship, can be taken beyond the nation's capitol and continued in community discussion groups across the country.

For those who have worked so diligently for months . . . . . or in some cases years . . . . . to make the Council and the Forum a reality, this report has yet another significance: it is a testimony to their perseverance. It illustrates what can be accomplished when dedicated people resolve to work together for a concern they hold in common. Special recognition for their extraordinary commitment must be accorded to Stephen Janger, President of the Council and R. Freeman Butts, Chairman of the Forum Committee. As well, members of the Forum Committee Harry Hogan, Allan Cohen, Mary Ann Kirk and Elizabeth Farquhar along with the Council's Secretary, Jeremiah Floyd, and Treasurer, Virginia Sparling worked studiously to meet the challenge of defining and creating a new entity. Pat Piety provided outstanding editorial assistance for this publication. Others who assumed critical responsibilities for which I owe my personal appreciation are Charles Tampio, Margery Kraus, Charles McBride, Philip McGance, Kathleen McElroy, Bob Walker, Carol Farquhar, Steven Dunbar and Laura Maxwell. And, of course, we are all deeply grateful to Senator Jennings Randolph who has served as our inspiration from the outset.

The Council greatly appreciates the vote of confidence from those who took part in this first Forum both as speakers and conferees, and looks forward to engaging their participation in future Council activities. To those who read this report and share its concerns we extend an invitation to join with us and others who share the belief that citizenship is both a precious right and responsibility.

Diane U. Eisenberg

Diane U. Eisenberg
Executive Director
Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
October 1982

INTRODUCTION

In pursuing its principal purpose to promote informed and responsible citizenship, the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship seeks to:

- encourage citizens to learn about and exercise their democratic rights and responsibilities;
- foster the sharing of ideas about citizenship among diverse groups across the spectrum of American society; and,
- promote scholarly study of citizenship.

As one of its chief agencies for achieving these purposes, the annual Jennings Randolph Forum was established in 1981 by the Council. Named for Senator Jennings Randolph, in honor of his role in founding and organizing the Council (and in recognition of his nearly fifty years of notable service in the Congress of the United States), the Forum is designed to help link scholarly study of public policy issues on the national agenda to conversations about basic values and the idea of citizenship in the 1980s. It will provide a vehicle for in-depth discussions on public policy issues between member organizations of the Council and other leaders from the academic, business, labor, voluntary, media and governmental communities. Analysis and discussion at each annual Forum will focus upon basic values and practices of citizenship that help to maintain and improve the American Constitutional order.

The member organizations of the Council are a unique variety of groups with diverse social, political, and economic orientations. The Council is committed to the belief that the vitality and durability of American democracy depend upon maintaining a strong, common core of civic values among such diverse groups while, at the same time, preserving their freedom to pursue pluralistic goals and special interests; for this reason, the Forum will seek to promote a continuing public dialogue concerning the knowledge, values, and skills that American citizens will need as they move from the "traumatic era" of the late 1960s into the decade of the 1980s.

In view of this basic goal to address public policy issues of current national concern in such a way as to clarify their implications for improving the quality of citizenship, the Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum in May, 1982, focused upon the idea of citizenship as embodied in President Reagan's proposal for a "New Federalism." We believed that the Forum could provide a timely response to the urgent need to reexamine the underlying meaning of citizenship that has developed over the past two centuries and its implications for the future. The background papers, the general sessions, and the group roundtable discussions were designed (a) to bring to the surface certain assumptions concerning the ideal "good citizen" which underlie the New Federalism, (b) to consider what these assumptions mean for the roles that citizens should play in government and in the voluntary sector in American society, (c) to determine what knowledge and skills citizens will need to be effective in these roles, and (d) to recommend how and from whom the requisite knowledge and skills should be obtained. The results of these deliberations over a three day period are presented within these pages in the form of a recommendations report to the many providers of citizenship education programs for their citizenship education agendas.

Having begun with citizenship vis-a-vis the New Federalism as our first topic, the Forum will continue each year to address prominent contemporary topics. We hope that the Jennings Randolph Forum will be an important step in directing attention to the connections between public issues and citizenship as well as a significant means of liaison with other national forums that address public policy issues of common concern.

The genius of the new Council, its founders believe, will be to promote informed and disciplined discussion of civic values, or what our nation's founders called the "civic virtures" required of citizens of a republic. As follow-up to the Forum, much succeeding work must be done at local and state levels by the Council's member organizations and other similar groups. This publication, together with an audiotape of the Forum's highlights, has been produced as a resource for that work. We hope that it will be used by community leaders to continue the dialogue in local settings.

But "grass roots" discussions are not the only ingredients needed for directing public attention to citizenship. Scholarly study and research is needed to give form and discipline to widespread local community discussions. A monumental task for the professions, as well as for the public, lies ahead. Together we must engage in a thoroughgoing study of the traditional values that underlie our common civic life and attempt to reintegrate them into a new formula for American citizenship for the coming decades. The recommendations report that emerged from the Forum suggests that this task will require a concerted collaborative effort among groups from all sectors of society.

As the Council looks ahead to its Forum activities for the coming decade, we are especially mindful of the coming bicentennial of the framing of the Constitution in 1787, its inauguration in 1789, and the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1791. What better time than now to take stock of the essential meaning of citizenship and the changes required by a history of two hundred years? Constitutional principles such as federalism, separation of powers, civil liberties and civil rights, judicial review, and limited government have arisen in such vital as well as controversial form during the past two decades that they no longer have the musty remoteness of the dull civics textbooks of the past. Each has been the subject of searching analysis and critical debate, and each is undergoing profound reassessment at the present time, with the very ideas and practices of citizenship at stake. What citizens know, think, and believe about such principles will have a profound effect upon the character of American society in the coming decades.

We hope that the Jennings Randolph Forum can become, during the coming U.S. Constitution bicentennial era, both a leader and a catalyst in developing a constructive vision of what American citizenship should be in the final decades of the twentieth century and then, through the Council, its national organizational members and affiliates, offer a substantive educational program to promote that vision. The challenge to the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship is not only to engage in the most fundamental consideration of current society and world which may be awaiting us; we also hope to describe the kind of society—and world—we would like to bring about as the United States enters its third century. Such a task calls for the cooperation of all Americans concerned about the future of our civic enterprise.

R. Freeman Butts

R. Freeman Butts, Chair
Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum
October 1982

The following Forum background papers have been edited for this publication. The full papers are available upon request from the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship.

BACKGROUND PAPER I

CITIZENSHIP AND THE NEW FEDERALISM: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by Duane E. Smith

It is widely acknowledged that, in addition to being the first nation, the United States is the most Burkean of nations. This is simply to say that the development of our political institutions and practices has been the result of gradual accretions rather than sudden and radical changes. This is equally true of the terms of our political debates, and it means, among other things, that there is really nothing new in American political discourse.

If one looks at the history of the debates over the proper relationship of the nation and the states, whether among the federalists and the anti-federalists and the Jeffersonians, or between the opponents and proponents of President Reagan's New Federalism, certain persistent arguments recur. The first is the argument for efficiency, or greater effectiveness. Second, a particular argument may be advanced on the grounds that it is more likely to result in public policy that will further the common good or "the permanent and aggregate interests of the community," as James Madison put it. The third argument—over the proper roles of the state and national governments—has to do with a concern for the "quality" of political life, particularly with citizenship and political participation.

The argument for efficiency is important, and depending upon one's perspective, it could very well determine the position one takes on the nation-state controversy of New Federalism. Alexander Hamilton's view that the transformation of a predominantly agrarian economy into an industrial one was best managed by the federal government is clearly an argument from effectiveness, as is President Reagan's view that certain programs will be more effectively and economically managed by the individual states; if these arguments can be demonstrated to be true or false—which, in principle at least, they can—the results could influence one's decision regarding New Federalism.

The primary concern of the Jennings Randolph Forum, however, is the question of citizenship within the context of New Federalism. The issue of special-versus-common interests in relation to the problem of citizen participation bears on this question most directly, so it is here that I wish to direct my attention.

Largeness vs. Smallness: How to Protect the "Common Good"?

At the time of the Constitutional Convention, it was universally acknowledged that republican government was the only form appropriate for Americans. (Republicanism referred to representative democracy, as distinguished from direct democracy and monarchy.) It was also widely believed, largely on the testimony of "the best authorities" such as Montesquieu, that republicanism could only succeed in a comparatively small state, where the citizens possessed civic virtue, were relatively equal economically, and were united in their pursuit of the common good, i.e., the good of the *entire* community. The relative equality, as well as the comparatively small number of citizens, it was argued, would reduce the probability that special-interest groups would emerge; moreover, the common good of such a community would be fairly easy to identify and hence clear to at least most of the citizens. These views were held with special intensity by the anti-federalists, who opposed the new Constitution, as well as by figures such as Thomas Jefferson who, though accepting the Constitution, still resisted development of the sort of national power envisaged by Alexander Hamilton and his followers.

Madison's *Federalist Paper*, No. 10, expressed a different view; it attempted to demonstrate that a republic was not only possible in a large nation, but that the common good was more likely to be protected from the corruption of private and special interests in an "extended republic" than in the small republics favored by his opponents. Different men have different abilities and ambitions, Madison argued, and from these differences it is inevitable that economic distinctions, as well as others, will arise. Moreover, one of the functions of government is to protect these differences. The advantage of an extended republic ruled by a national government, he wrote, is that the very extent of the political community and the large number of interest groups that will emerge make it more difficult for any of these interests to coalesce, form a majority, impose their will on the minority, and succeed in passing laws that are contrary to the common good.

Madison's solution to the problem of protecting the common good from the depredations of special interests has by no means been universally accepted. John C. Calhoun did not accept it; instead, he developed his doctrine of nullification and secession. Nor, it seems, does Madison's argument appeal to David A. Stockman, who has argued that the concentration of political power in Washington has had precisely the opposite effects that Madison foresaw. Rather than limiting the influence of special interests, this concentration of power has made it easier for interest groups to attain their ends, presumably at the cost of the common good, Stockman maintains.

However, James Madison and David A. Stockman (and presumably President Reagan) were addressing themselves to the same fundamental problem: how do we prevent special interests from interfering with the common good? To answer their question, we must confront the problem of identifying this common good which is to be protected from the corruption of special interests.

How Shall We Define the Common Good?

There are two ways of looking at the common good. We can, as did many philosophers from Plato to Rousseau and beyond, see it as a

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good that transcends the particular interests of the individual members of the community, a good that is shared by each and every member: the common good unites the members of the community—it is something they share—while the particular interests of individuals separate citizens from one another. The second way of viewing the common good is expressed in the classic statement of the great English Utilitarian, Jeremy Bentham: "The community is a fictitious *body*, composed of the individual persons who are considered as constituting as it were its *members*. The interest of the community then is, what?—the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it."

What Bentham is saying, in effect, is that there is no common good that is shared by and transcends the particular interests of the individual members of the community. The American political scientist, David Truman, stated this view more explicitly when he argued that a totally inclusive interest for an entire society "does not exist." The late economist Joseph Schumpeter didn't go so far as to deny that a totally inclusive interest, a common good, *might* exist, but he did maintain that there was not one upon which all people could agree.

There are certain kinds of communities for which it makes sense to speak of a common good shared by all the members of the community and hence to be protected from the influence of special-interest groups. The Greek city-state, as Aristotle conceived of it, may have been one. Certain kinds of religious communities in which the members have a common interest in salvation are also examples of such communities. The modern nation-state with a heterogeneous population is not—which is why James Madison was incapable of describing with any degree of specificity this common good which we must protect from the corruptions of private interests. Mr. Stockman, I suspect, would be equally hardpressed for a definition. All we can identify is a common interest consisting of all the particular interests held by the individual members of society, and that is not really a common interest at all.

A Modest Proposal Regarding the Common Good

If we are left with no common good that needs to be protected, does this mean that Madison's concern with factions and David A. Stockman's worries over the iron triangle of "executive branch bureaucracies, congressional committee staffs, and interest groups" can be laid aside? Not necessarily, but it does mean that the discussion must be couched in different terms.

Rather than arguing that the role of the states should be enhanced and that of the federal government reduced in order to reduce the impact of special interests on public policymaking and thereby protect a mythical common good, we need to determine whether certain special interests have managed to attain a disproportionate amount of power that enables them to ride roughshod over the special interests of other groups. In other words, the problem centers on equity or social justice rather than on attaining the common good. With this goal in mind, one might well conclude that a change of the arena, as well as some of the rules, would establish a more equitable balance among the competing special interests in our society.

Paradoxical as it may seem, eliminating the concept of the common good may well raise the level of civility in our political discourse and hence in our political life. It is not cynical to suggest that most people have a tendency to identify the common good with their own particular interests. This assumption, of course, implies that one's own interests are legitimate in a way that other people's interests are not and, not surprisingly, it gives rise to a sort of self-righteousness which hardly contributes to the civil life of the community.

In contrast, if we grant that there is no common good—at least none that we can identify—we are forced to consider the possibility that most, if not all, interests have some justification, some legitimacy, and hence some claim to satisfaction. We might still believe that certain interests are getting more than equity or social justice would permit, but at least we would deny ourselves the luxury of denouncing them as perversions of the common good. In addition, if we discuss public policy as the attainment of, and the adjustment among, the goals pursued by various special interests—rather than the pursuit of an inclusive common good which nobody can identify with any degree of specificity—our political discourse will gain a clarity that it otherwise lacks.

Two Views of Society and Their Implications for Citizenship

The way we look at the common good has a direct bearing on our view of political participation and citizenship. The notion of the common good as an inclusive good, shared by all of the citizens, is generally found in political doctrines such as those of Plato and Rousseau, who held that the proper end of the state was the attainment of the very highest good, which is usually thought to be the moral development of the citizens.

We need the state, Aristotle reasoned, because without it we would somehow be less than fully human. The potentialities which we possess and which distinguish us from the rest of the animal creation would remain dormant, and instead of developing our capacities for higher things such as wisdom and virtue, we would remain mired in the brutishness of our lower natures. It simply never occurred to Plato or Aristotle that all, or even most, men had either the natural capacity or the desire for such high ends. The state existed, then, to provide the means for the development of uniquely human qualities which were possessed by a comparatively few "naturally free men," according to Aristotle. For the rest—the "natural slaves"—the state's purpose was to provide the basic necessities and maintain a reasonable degree of order.

This political doctrine (which was much more complex than I have been able to suggest here) is not easy to reconcile with a democratic perspective, and, perhaps because it is not, it has never been part of the political perspective of most Americans. It does not emerge in any important way in the utterances of American political thinkers who, from the time of the Puritans up to the present, have thought about political matters from a very different perspective—a perspective which has important implications for the way we view citizenship and political participation.

Rejecting the notion that the state exists for the attainment of the highest ends, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke held that we need the state soley for security; they rejected the proposition that the state has a transformational function. Aristotle was wrong, Hobbes thought, in his claim that outside the state one finds only "beasts or gods." A citizen of the commonwealth is a puppet of the same complex of passions as man in the state of nature; the state merely curbs his behavior by the threat of punishment, as well as by the promise of a life without fear of his fellow men—with the result that everyone can live together in reasonable peace. Hobbes admitted that there are differences in strength, intelligence, and so on among individuals, but he insisted that they were not significant enough to justify the rule of one man over another.

Men are pretty much equal, he claimed—at least for political purposes—and so are their interests.

It is not insignificant that Hobbes maintains silence on the subject of how the citizens are to live their lives. He is silent because it doesn't matter as long as their activities do not threaten the public order. In short, the citizens are not united in the pursuit of a common goal; they live together in a state so that they may pursue their various private interests free from fear.

Citizenship in such an order is reduced to the role of selecting representatives who will make and enforce the law; it becomes a matter of obeying the law and performing a few relatively minimal duties such as paying taxes and rendering military service. Rather than being the central focus of life and a means of attaining an exalted end in common with other citizens, citizenship is thus reduced to a peripheral activity instrumental to the private pursuit of one's own interests and goals.

American Democracy: A "Workable Substitute"

The above ideas provided the means by which the Founders were able to develop an American version of republicanism for a large nation-state, populated by a citizenry of only modest political virtue, pursuing their own private ends; it was a workable substitute for Artistotle's and Montesquieu's—and even Jefferson's—notion of a small republic made up of virtuous citizens pursuing common end or the common good. The result is a representative democracy in which the state performs the relatively minimal purpose of providing a safe environment within which the citizens can pursue their various interests. It is the nightwatchman state.

The implications for citizenship and participation inherent in this view of democracy are not especially encouraging to those who cherish the ideal of an actively participating citizenry intensely devoted to public affairs. Most Americans know that Aristotle's view of the state has nothing to do with the way they want to live their lives; they are in agreement with Henry David Thoreau, who said that, in the best of all worlds, the functions of government would be "unconsciously performed, like the corresponding functions of the human body." Ideally, politics would not impinge on our lives because we have more important things to do such as earn livings, raise families, and so on. The best world is the world of Walden Ponds in places ranging from the frontier to the suburbs.

It is this view of politics as inferior to the pursuit of private activites which, in my judgment, is critical to an understanding of why the ordinary American is not more actively involved in political life. Rather than being the central focus of existence, as Aristotle and others have suggested that it should be, political participation is simply one of the means by which individuals protect and further their interests. This attitude, and the behavior resulting from it, is perfectly consonant with the political philosophy that virtually all Americans hold with varying degrees of consciousness. It is the philosophy that was developed in the writings of various thinkers from Hobbes to Bentham, and it is the philosophy that underlies the Reagan proposals for the New Federalism, for these recommendations involve not only the shifting of various functions from the national to the state governments but, more important, the removal of certain activities from the political sphere completely. This is the real significance of the call for private initiative: it is by definition nonpolitical and therefore has nothing to do with citizenship.

There would seem to be no reason to expect that the kinds of changes anticipated by the New Federalism will have any particular impact on the level of participation in political life. The citizen of today participates pretty much as citizens of the United States always have done; it is useful to keep in mind that the number of citizens who voted for delegates to the state conventions which were to ratify the Constitution included a relatively small proportion of the eligible voters. Voter participation has sometimes been higher than at other times, but this is usually a result of the intensity of the feelings of the voters about various issues. It can rarely be seen as a function of the nature of the political arrangements. Those who regret the relative absence of participation often make suggestions for various institutional changes which are designed to increase the participation of the ordinary citizen. But the anticipated resurgence of citizen participation never occurs, and there is no reason to expect that it would.

Does it then follow that if political participation is primarily to be an expression of self-interest, political education is of no importance? Not at all. Even in a polity in which politics is viewed as inferior to private pursuits and where activity in politics is seen primarily as a means for the protection and furtherance of one's interests, certain kinds of knowledge, skills, and attitudes are required. We do not, of course, live in an environment remotely like Walden. Whether we like it or not, politics does impinge on our lives in ways both small and large. Consequently, the reasonably prudent citizen must know how to participate in political life effectively when it is in his interest.

It is obvious that if all of the citizens are in fact to be able to engage in this kind of political activity, they must possess a knowledge of the political system that will enable them to function in it on more or less equal terms with everyone else. This fact is illustrated by the increased success with which previously excluded groups have been able to function over the past two decades. Their success is clearly a result not of any great increase in political power as measured in numbers, but of a higher degree of political knowledge and skills necessary to bring that knowledge to bear on the operations of government.

In addition, it is equally important that certain civic attitudes provide the foundation for the political activities in which the citizens engage. The most important of these is probably a certain sense of forbearance, a recognition that while one's own interests are no doubt important, the interests of others are also legitimate, an understanding that often the conflict among various interests can only be resolved in some sort of reasoned compromise and a refusal to try to transform politics into a zero-sum game in which the winner takes all. A sense of fairness and a capacity for a reasonable degree of self-restraint are the qualities required of citizens in a democratic republic whose end is the happiness and security of the individual citizens.

A proper political education in a state whose end is the happiness and security of individuals will stress the attitudes and skills required of citizens, rather than trying to resuscitate the ideal of an actively participating citizenry possessed of high moral qualities and devoted to a common good shared by all members of the community.

There is little evidence to suggest that citizens will participate in political affairs at the local level more than they do at the national level. For these and other reasons I have suggested, public policies and proposals such as the New Federalism should be seen as what they are: measures that further the interests of some, perhaps even most, but not of all, and measures which are not likely to have any significant impact on the way members of a community view the political order and the role of citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP AND THE NEW FEDERALISM: A CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

by Harry J. Hogan

President Reagan's federalism initiative could have major impact upon citizenship values in our society in two ways: (1) it would politicize all social activities and institutions (most particularly business corporations and voluntary associations) because it would assign social responsibilities to them and make them accountable to the national government for performance; and (2) it would very likely move the nation's political system toward some version of parliamentary government.

Under New Federalism, state and city governments and private-sector corporations and associations would no longer deal with federal agencies to obtain programs and funds, because those agencies would no longer have decision-making authority for programs. Consequently, if the President succeeds in transferring such program control to state and local governments, those governments will inevitably turn directly to the Congress to obtain the needed legislative authorization and funding. On the other hand, if he does not succeed in obtaining acceptance of the New Federalism proposal for transfer of funding responsibility from the national government to local government, it will be because the states and cities have successfully lobbied the Congress against it. Either way, the proposals will have had the effect of pushing state and local governments toward a more direct relationship with Congress. Other possible impacts of New Federalism are described below.

Impact upon Political Institutions

The President's proposals would have decisive impact upon political decision-making because:

1) They introduce the possibility of making public decision-making less vulnerable to immediate self-interest. The iron triangle of a self-interest constituency, federal agency, and congressional subcommittee would be broken by removing the federal agency. Self-interest groups would then find themselves compelled to defend their interest to governments in fifty states and thousands of cities, where the necessity of allocating limited local resources to meet related problems could cause decision-makers to look at problems more holistically. The very fact that self-interest constituencies would need to defend the present political decision-making process, and, if the process were decentralized, to regroup their capabilities in a multitude of local districts, could cause some communities to view their own interests as conflicting with, and perhaps superior to, special self-interests.

2) The necessity for a national dialogue on public policy and the weakening of atomistic self-interest politics could help to regenerate political parties. In the national arena, the Democratic party could respond to the challenge in either of two ways: a) as an advocate for the special interests adversely affected by the President's policies (the Madisonian response), or b) as an advocate for a coherent national community (the anti-federalist response).

3) The practical need to influence a Congress whose members are elected by statewide or local constituencies could well compel states and cities to try to generate a revival of local political activity, while the desirability of controlling the presidency could stimulate a party reorganization that would allow congressional and state-elected officials to control the presidential nomination process. Such a reorganization would be a major step in America's evolution toward a version of the parliamentary system.

4) Assigning program responsibilities to the states would highlight problems in the relationships of cities and local communities to the state political institutions. As a result, perhaps ways of improving these relationships could be found. In theory, the justification for the transfer of federal programs to the states is that on-site program management is more cost-effective. But that theory could also be applied to the state government-local government relationship, producing decisions favorable to local government. Such a result would be consistent with the emerging social philosophy, which is suspicious of state and national governments and favors communities.

5) The effectiveness of local decision-making would be enormously enhanced if the local government were to seize the opportunity for communitywide program planning. At present, when program plans are made by a multitude of diverse federal agencies, the tendency is to accept the necessity of separate program planning. But a communitywide, holistic plan could maximize both cost-effectiveness and the opportunities for achieving program purposes. Formulation and implementation of such community plans could require individuals, business corporations, voluntary associations, and educational institutions to assume responsibilities presently described as political. President Reagan anticipated this need in his creation of the Presidential Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives, but he described private-sector institutions as apolitical, apparently on the grounds that they have been traditionally regarded as outside the political sector.

Impact upon Business

The President has proposed social roles for the business corporation on two levels. First, he suggested to his Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives that business corporations join voluntary associations in addressing local welfare problems. Many in the corporate sector will accept this assignment with a growing sense of social responsibility. Although the President apparently regards welfare problems as properly the province of private-sector voluntary effort, they have now become, in popular regard, the responsibility of the political sector. Ultimately, therefore, society's judgment on the effectiveness of these programs would be made in the political arena.

In his State of the Union speech,

HARRY J. HOGAN, Vice President of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, is an attorney and author of numerous scholarly publications on the processes of government and their relationship to citizen responsibilities. Former Professor of History at the George Washington University, he currently serves on the Board of Directors for several voluntary associations.

President Reagan placed primary emphasis on the economic goal of ending the recession and, with it, unemployment and inflation. He assigned to the business sector direct responsibility for achieving that goal and accepted for the federal government a secondary, supportive role. He has already reduced taxes for the express purpose of providing funds to business for resuming growth and restoring prosperity, and, in that sense, he has politicized the business sector. Still unresolved, and in the hands of the expressly political federal government, is the question of how the business sector will be held accountable. At least two outcomes are likely:

1) The national judgement on how well business is assuming these new responsibilities would inevitably be made in the political arena, and it is evident that the President is confident the ultimate judgement will be affirmative. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that in future years the people will give business a vote of "no confidence"—with possibly traumatic results for national morale.

2) In addition to general responsibility for jobs and prosperity, the business community will have an opportunity to define specific responsibilities in regard to such social goals as protection of the environment, product safety, work conditions, pension systems, and rights of stockholders. In all these areas, the business community might work affirmatively within the private sector toward definition of social responsibility.

In our legal system, the private-sector alternatives to government legislation and regulation include general tort responsibility enforceable in the courts; a present illustration of such responsibility is the manufacturer's product liability. A business corporation causing damage to the environment might, for example, be held answerable in a negligence action for reasonably forseeable environmental damage. Under New Federalism, that responsibility might be extended to corporation executives, piercing "the corporate veil" so as to allow injured persons in society to recover from all those corporate decision-makers who would profit from socially harmful decisions.

Similarly, individual stockholders who are now excluded by management from substantive corporate decision making (including a real sharing in the profits) might find their interests protected under a trust theory. The courts might, for example, recognize stockholders' rights to a return on investment in proportion to management's salaries, bonuses, and perquisites. A return of six percent over the inflation rate on stock equity might be held to be a fair return in relation to current managers' salaries; according to this method of computing return on investment, every increase in management salaries would require a comparable increase in stock dividends. Such a development would constitute a corporate version of the tradition of individual responsibility for which President Reagan is an advocate.

Similarly, wages and set-asides for pensions might be considered entitled to the same fair relationship to business income as executive salaries now enjoy. The income-producing sector might have the same responsibility for retirement benefits that it now has for wages. The government's role would then be limited to providing the supplementary "safety net" programs of Social Security and Medicare, unemployment compensation, and welfare.

Impact upon the Voluntary Sector

In seeking to transfer more responsibility to the private sector, President Reagan has asked voluntary organizations to reexamine and amplify their traditional role in meeting social problems. This expansion could radically affect the structure and function of voluntarism in a number of ways:

1) Instead of the present approach, in which volunteers choose to donate time to help the needy, we may see the emergence of a philosophy which maintains that volunteer agencies should assume responsibility for insuring the basic "rights" of all citizens to life and health support—rights that are currently expressed as political.

If so, certain "volunteer" work might no longer be unpaid; the acceptance of expanded responsibility for volunteer agencies could require that such agencies create regular, stipended work disciplines. The possible outcome (and a very interesting one) is that, as voluntary associations and business corporations move toward accepting more social responsibility, both will tend to offer workers more opportunity for self-realization: "work" opportunities could become one means of expressing citizenship values.

2) The private sector's ability to fund voluntary associations is seriously threatened by the income-tax reductions of this administration, which have substantially reduced incentives to high-income taxpayers for charitable giving. Congress's authorization of deductions for charitable contributions on the short income-tax form has helped alleviate this problem but has not solved it. Ultimately, lack of sufficient capital could force voluntary associations to seek direct federal funding.

3) At present, voluntary associations have become adept at providing grant-getting support to cities and states for obtaining funds from federal agencies. However, since resource-allocation decisions formerly made by federal agencies will now be made by Congress under New Federalism, volunteer associations will need to help state and city agencies appeal directly to Congress. Thus, they will need to become even more politicized than at present.

Impact upon Educational Institutions

The immediate problem that educational institutions will face under New Federalism is obtaining the assurance of continued federal funding. Till now, the national government has provided funds to elementary and secondary education, primarily for special purposes—most particularly for the education of disadvantaged children. Inadequate local resources or local unwillingness to make resources available could pose real problems for these special education programs if national funds were withdrawn. On another front, federal aid to higher education has taken the primary form of student aid, which has allowed colleges and universities to provide asylum to young people between adolescence and maturity while preparing them for eventual employment in a technological society. Any withdrawal of that aid would adversely affect the capability of higher education institutions to meet that social need.

Beyond its potentially adverse effects on financial support, the New Federalism could have strong impact upon social values and, in consequence, the teaching function of higher education institutions. These institutions are already beginning to recognize that agreement on social values may be essential to the continuing vitality of society.

In recent years, higher education has prepared individuals for careers by helping them to become mobile, interchangeable, value-free persons in an urban, technological society—structurally corporate and personally atomistic. To accomplish that purpose, education has strained traditional loyalties to family, church, and community. Ideally, a graduate of an American university could locate anywhere—New York, Washington, Chicago, or Los Angeles—and move readily thereafter. In producing these atomistic graduates, university traditions of institu-

tional isolation, faculty tenure, and academic freedom protected faculties from those outside the universities who would want to preserve traditional values. As values of social responsibility are increasingly emphasized, as in the New Federalism, educational institutions will move from isolation toward community involvement and accountability.

The need to reincorporate values in education may be expressed in an on-campus emphasis on humanism and in an off-campus reacceptance of traditional Christian religious values. Unfortunately, the articulation of the conflict between these two different modes of concern for citizenship values could have a strongly emotional aspect that would tend to obscure their basic similarity.

Consistent with the citizenship responsibilities expressed in the New Federalism, the indications are that education is coming to be regarded as a life-long enterprise, and the education of the young will likely evolve toward more internships and work-and-service opportunities in the community.

Impact on the Individual Citizen

The need for sensitivity to neighborhood concerns implied in New Federalism could lead to conscious integration of local citizens into communitywide program planning, administration, service, evaluation, and advocacy, and all that effort could have an intensely vitalizing effect on the concept of citizenship.

The decision to transfer responsibility from the national to the local level must be based upon a philosophy of individual social responsibility that is consistent with, and carries further, the belief that individual responsibility extends beyond economic self-interest. In this philosophy, the individual plays a social role not only as citizen in an isolated political sector, but also as a member of a family and a community. The emerging need to establish identity in social relationships could be expressed, for example, in ethnic concerns—most notably the concerns of Hispanics and blacks, many of whom want material success for their people, but not at the cost of ethnic community.

Women are likely to seek personal fulfillment in social relationships through a reassessment of their social role. They will be faced with the decision either to continue their efforts to establish themselves in the present, essentially masculine society of atomistic self-interest, or to work for a reconstruction of society into a more caring system which emphasizes familial values; their decision could have a profound effect in shaping the new citizenship.

The enlargement of the definition of citizenship should produce attitudes favorable to youth national service and senior service, both of which could offer a sense of fulfillment and help to reintegrate demographic groups that are now either alienated—as much of youth is—or isolated—as many older people are. Youth service could offer young people options for military or civilian service, both of which signify the acceptance of social responsibility. These options could include weighted reward systems, composed partly of stipends and partly of career training, academic credit, and student-aid qualification. Senior service options could move society away from the philosophy of the dole toward one which would offer older people the dignity and social integration of meaningful work.

Society may also become more aware that people of all ages—not just the elderly or the very young—have a need for self-fulfillment. The Detroit experience has forced us to examine the Japanese model of the workplace as a social institution which offers fulfillment to individuals beyond immediate economic self-interest. Samuel Gompers spoke to that point in his famous enunciation of union demands as "more" is not enough. Evidence of this development can be seen in the fact that the United Auto Workers' Union is now asking for representation on the boards of directors of Chrysler and Ford; workers are saying that the workplace must also satisfy the human need for social responsibility. The increasing willingness of corporations to accept a philanthropic role and to encourage employees to serve in the community as volunteers is a prelude, but only prelude, to restructuring the workplace as an institution which expresses the civic values of fulfillment and responsibility.

Conclusion

The changes implied by the President's New Federalism proposal reflect the current national identity crisis. It is important to recognize that the analysis he has requested—an analysis of the social responsibilities of business, the voluntary sector, and the political institutions at the national, state, and local levels—cannot be limited once it has been initiated. The occasion compels a thoughtful review of basic values that can transcend immediate, reflexive responses on the growth of national government. A responsible, structured examination—on a national scale—could very well redefine citizenship in all its aspects, and, in doing so, it could reshape the American dream for our twentieth-century urban technological society.

Discussion Group

The following excerpts have been selected from transcripts of the Forum's General Sessions. They are presented here to convey the range of opinions that were expressed and to suggest the liveliness, diversity and original spirit of the actual conversation.

FORUM HIGHLIGHTS

OPENING REMARKS

Sunday, May 16, 1982

On behalf of the Council's Board of Directors, President Stephen A. Janger presented Senator Jennings Randolph with a plaque inscribed as follows:

> The advancement of citizenship has been your lifelong pursuit and these United States of America are stronger by your example. The Jennings Randolph Forum is so named to honor your career of public service and civic concern and to inspire in others that same spirit of commitment and accomplishment.
>
> Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
> May, 1982

Senator Jennings Randolph

Senator Randolph:

Good evening. I am very grateful, and I shall not forget these two-and-one-half years of planning this new Council. The time has passed so quickly, yet it seemed sometimes to do so slowly because that which we thought would happen overnight was not to be born so soon.

In the formation of this Forum and the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, I think there is a challenge which, if we accept it, can be met. That challenge is to maintain a representative—a truly representative—democracy, and that is difficult. We must seek, as you are doing in the Forum tonight, to achieve an informed citizen participation.

I am a student of James Madison, who said, "Knowledge will forever govern ignorance." The people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives. The Council, in this Forum, proposes to follow this idea of Madison, even if we do not think of it in his words, because it is in that spirit that we can go forward.

The Council has provided two thoughtful and provocative background papers by Professors Duane Smith and Harry Hogan, and I would like to express some thoughts on Professor Smith's lucid statement of historical perspective on American democracy. Professor Smith sketches the development of two basic strains of thought on the role of the democratic state: Number one is the classical Greek concept of the state guided by relatively few "naturally free" men (and, by the way, when I hear "free men," I always think of free women. There are three and a half million more women of voting age in this country than there are men of voting age. We "free [illegible]" had better start thinking about [illegible]). Number two is the concept of the common good.

Now, I have served in the Congress for several years; the other night I served for twenty hours—we started at 9:15 in the morning and quit at 6:00 the next morning. At these times, I come down on the side of Professor Smith. This process we were engaged in is sometimes called, with demeaning intent, "log rolling." However, isn't that really the heart of the legislative process in our country—to work to reconcile competing and conflicting interests? We seek to grind down the sharp edges—sometimes to accommodate, but more often, I think, to achieve. The process requires forbearance and respect for the conscience and the judgement of one's colleagues. It is not a tidy process, I can understand that. It is only the best process that has yet been found.

It is this fact of the American political process that most distinguishes the two major political parties in our country from those of the democracies that are parliamentary in nature throughout the world. The Democratic and Republican parties are not based on rigorous ideological concepts; they compromise on geographics; on economic matters; and on occupational efforts. Each party is represented by a broad spectrum of opinion, and many of the ragged edges of conflicting ideas are ground down within the party caucuses.

But I hope no one will feel that I'm wrong because I say that we may not be able to identify an inclusive common good. There is or has been in American life one overwhelming force that has held us together, and this, ladies and

gentlemen, I believe, is still the sense of the community. This sense, feeling, attitude—call it what you may—has been the solid base of American history. The settlement of North America was unique. Among all of the old-world, imperialistic or colonial adventurers from the 15th through the 19th centuries, those people who were the dominant settlers of North America did not come for plunder. They did not come to enrich the coffers of the crown. Whether to escape the unjust persecution or the oppression of politics in one form or another, or to escape being drafted into the armies of the Czar, or even to improve their economic opportunities, they came, God Bless them, to work and to contribute to civilization in a bright new land.

But in those early years, as the frontier pushed and moved forward, their survival depended on cooperation with one another, and that was for the benefit not just of themselves, but of the community, as well. It is this sense of community that has bound us together as we have worked to reconcile the individual, the group, and the sectional differences in America.

Stephen Janger

Now this sense of community, I fear, is being threatened by technological developments in the television industry and the modern political process. These are the two massive dangers to responsible and informed citizen participation in the democratic process. There are more problems, but these are the ones I consider most relevant, that could be considered in this Forum: They are the capacity of television technology, cable TV, home-owned satellite antenna, fibre optics, and other developments that can fractionate and dismember the community in ways we have not measured and perhaps cannot. Let us not ignore that the classical Greek concept of democracy was based on the reach of sound of the human voice in a good amphitheater.

William Jennings Bryant came to Clarksburg, West Virginia, to the county in which I was born, in the campaign of 1896. He came from the old B&O station, winding through what is now the city, out to the eastern section then called Norwood Park. Were there a few people there to hear Bryant?

Well, eleven thousand men and women came through the valleys and down and wound their way through the hills to be there to listen to William Jennings Bryant. On that occasion a heavy frame, about twenty-two feet high had been erected for him to mount—by a not very good staircase—so that he could speak high above the people—so that the human voice could reverberate through those West Virginia hills. And the people heard him gladly.

Even then, there was a realization that people must hear; people cannot always read—they must sometimes see and hear.

Now, the real danger is the technology of political campaigning—the scientific sampling by means of polls. It's terrible that, in this country, a winner at the national level can be announced before the polls are even closed in about eight states of the union. The scientific sampling, the image development of the candidate, the construction of slick campaign movies, all are made possible by the technology of television. Unfortunately, new technological developments have too frequently been used not to inform the citizens, but to manipulate. That may be good for the candidate or the party. But it is not good for the citizen, the community, or the United States of America.

Although I was not invited just to say pleasant words, I do not wish to end on a somber note. The business of this Council and of this Forum is to build better and more citizen participation in the democratic process. Let us close with a quote of an earlier participant in this process that I've been sketching. There was a statesman from Massachusetts. He was a Federalist member of the House of Representatives. His name was Fisher Ames, and he said: "A monarchy is a ship which sails well, but sometimes it strikes a rock and it goes to the bottom, whilst a republic is like a raft which will never sink, but your feet are always in the water."

Ladies and Gentlemen, having said that, I hope we'll move along and have our feet in the water. No navigator ever distinguished himself on a calm sea. We're now in trouble on rough waters in the United States of America—and in the world in which we live. It's a time for men and women like you who are really leaders. Maybe you are not in the newspapers every morning or on television every night, but you are men and women of good intent, and you'll have to have your steady hands on the rudder—a rudder that needs you perhaps tonight and tomorrow and in the coming tomorrows more than ever before. God Bless you, everyone.

GENERAL SESSION I

Sunday, May 16

Responses to the Background Papers
"Implications of the New Federalism for Citizenship"

Moderator:
Linda Wertheimer, Political Correspondent, National Public Radio

Responders:
Stephen Hitchner, Vice President, Common Cause
Lynne B. Iglitzin, Executive Director, National Council for the Social Studies
Jimmie Powell, Staff Director, Subcommittee for Intergovernmental Relations

Authors:
Harry J. Hogan, Attorney, Vice President, Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
Duane E. Smith, Associate Professor, University of California, Los Angeles

WERTHEIMER:

. . . we're going to assume that all of you have read the background papers, and we will go on from there to ask our responders to give both their own reactions to the papers and then some sense of where they personally stand on the questions that are raised by these papers.

HITCHNER:

I am in substantial agreement with the point of view that Professor Smith seems to be presenting, which is that politics in government is not viewed—however much we would like it to be—by many of our American citizens as the most ennobling pursuit, but rather as a secondary pursuit through which they, from time to time, have to pursue their self interests. Smith comes from this point of view to a conclusion that, in the end, a New Federalism proposal, if adopted, will not substantially change the role of the American citizen in the 1980's. That is largely where I come out.

In many ways I found Mr. Hogan's paper to be very provocative, and I think there's much to commend it in that sense. He presents a very challenging vision of what the world might be like if the New Federalism comes to pass. He related the New Federalism proposal to the larger national identity crisis that he feels the country is undergoing. He feels that the new proposal will spark debate on what the ramifications would be for government and the various other institutions . . . educational institutions, business, voluntary associations and individual citizens.

I would like to see what Mr. Hogan envisions come to pass, but I'm not as confident as he seems to be that it will, for many reasons. And, I guess some of them are related to the dangers that Senator Randolph pointed out to us in the way that the current political institutions are working.

. . . in some respects, the whole New Federalism topic is, for me, somewhat subsidiary to what may be the real challenges to citizenship in the 80's. Sitting at Common Cause and worrying about the issues that my organizations sees, I'm struck by their incredible complexity. It's very hard, very frustrating to deal with. In many ways, that is really at the root of much of the frustration among individual citizens. I think it's a problem that requires education efforts, and I would say to you that education for an informed citizenry is one of the root problems that must be addressed by organizations such as yours.

POWELL:

Professor Smith's paper does not present the traditional definition of American citizenship that many of us understand; he has limited his definition to political activities. I think most of us understand citizenship to extend quite beyond our participation in the political process. When we see a problem in our community, we don't wait for the aristocracy, or the bureaucracy, or the Congress to solve the problem. It's our problem. The community belongs to us. That's what citizenship in America means.

. . . what's more, we invent ways to solve those problems, and there are many, many tools that we have available to us. That's the meaning of the voluntary association. Most of you here tonight are coming as representatives of voluntary associations. And, when an association isn't already out there, we go out and invent it ourselves.

Another part of our understanding of citizenship is that it includes the experience of participation in this social process—not just political, but social participation is a transforming experience. It changes the way we look at our communities; it gives us a common feeling for people who have problems different from our own; it makes us more rational, more accepting of different points of view and more involved in the needs of other people. That, I think is the essential meaning of citizenship in our society. It is not a narrow, political definition.

. . . furthermore, I believe that there's a necessary tension between this broad definition of citizenship—and the desire for a limited government. . . . because of the capabilities of this electronic age, we can now define ourselves as citizens of the whole nation. Whether we live in Minneapolis or Boston, we tend to judge our success as citizens by how well they're doing in Indianapolis. That new sense of community is what's happened in the last twenty years as a result of instant communications. We have this strong, positive, involved definition of citizenship that causes us to want to solve the problems of our community. At the same time, we tend to reach to the national government to get it involved in every single problem, and that makes it a very diverse government . . .

IGLITZIN:

My sense of these papers is that they agree that, whatever one thinks of the New Federalism proposals, they were probably intended less for the kind of social values discussions that we're talking about tonight, than for cost-and-marketplace reasons, good or bad. But whatever their original purpose, the fact that a lot of people are using these proposals to talk about citizenship is really very exciting.

I do come down, I think, on the side of my fellow political scientist, Duane Smith, in the sense of being rather skeptical that these proposals will, in fact, do very much in and of themselves to enhance citizenship. I think that Harry Hogan has idealistic notions about the kind of social values of revival or regeneration of public and civic virtue he

thinks might occur. I tend to want to be persuaded.

. . . I guess I just don't trust state government very much, even though I come from a pretty progressive state.

. . . for me it's not really so much a question of which level of state government's doing Medicare, or welfare, or whatever; it's what values our government represents. If you care about the values of social justice, that's my values. I suppose I have a basic bias, and most of you know where the bias comes from. It comes from looking back over our history, over the last twenty-five years, to civil rights, women's rights, concern for minority rights, and the like. The state didn't do a particularly good job in any of these areas. The federal government, even with all its problems, is the place I still return for social justice.

Today's problems transcend state boundaries. Pollution, nuclear waste, water waste—there isn't a problem of any magnitude that we can talk about that really can be put within a state. Although I really admire the Jeffersonian ideal, which is government responsible to the people, the situation is considerably different from that of Jefferson's time.

. . . if you agree that this New Federalism isn't the way to go, what can you do? Well, I said that I didn't particularly like states, but I love cities. I think that you have to encourage young people to get active on a local level. I do think you can affect change in your neighborhood, and even in your city.

People get involved when an issue touches them. I think that's really important. I also think it's critically important for adults who care about citizenship to show that kind of model in their own behavior to young people.

WERTHEIMER:

Let's now give our authors a chance to respond, should any of their words have been misconstrued. . . . Gentlemen?

SMITH:

Mr. Powell suggests that "the common good" does indeed exist and that it is a condition in which everybody benefits a little bit. It is not clear to me, as it is perhaps clear to him, that any policy will in fact make things a little better for everybody . . . My suspicion is that, in fact, most of the time, any policy will make things better for some people and maybe a little worse for some people.

. . . I think there are many things worth doing in life—raising children, being a good neighbor, and so forth—but I don't think that those are aspects of citizenship as it has been understood historically. Citizenship has to do with something that goes beyond the family or the neighborhood; it has to do with public life. So I would defend my concept of citizenship as not being excessively narrow.

HOGAN:

The primary problem that American faces today is the moral problem, the value problem. It's what I call the identity problem. Who are we? What do we stand for? What are our responsibilities to each other? In an atavistic society in which special interests dominate, it is difficult to approach that kind of problem in general; we approach it empirically, and only in regard to specific solutions for specific problems that confront us experientially.

But President Reagan has given us an opportunity to approach the problem conceptually. He has required us to review, as Professor Smith has done, the history of how we got here, through our Constitutional apparatus and its evolution. The President's proposals now call for consideration of our situation—philosophically, conceptually, in terms of our political framework. In suggesting federalism—the delegation of responsibility to the states, and not only to them, but also to private-sector business and voluntarism—he has effectively politicized our whole society. He's drawn everybody into the game, completely contrary to Madison, in the sense that when he gives such groups the responsibility for employment, for a solution to inflation, for solutions of our business problems generally, he is not only giving them responsibility, but ultimately he will be demanding accountability from them, in addition to the accountability of the national political entity.

The President's proposal not only politicizes all parts of our society, but it makes them accountable to the national political apparatus, and in that sense it is completely contrary to federalism as we know it in historical analysis. So what we face is the probability that public judgment will be passed on the ability of the private sector and local communities to solve problems—very probably a negative judgement, which may prove to be a traumatic experience for society. But what Reagan has done is to pose the problem conceptually and demand an answer. I hope we're equal to the problem.

WERTHEIMER:

I'm not sure I agree with that. It seems to me that what President Reagan is doing is proposing to shrink the size of the federal government through the mechanism of New Federalism, rather than to propose a new concept which would politicize our entire society. . . .

. . . one or two of our panelists have expressed the notion that New Federalism will be good for us because participation in the political process inevitably changes us and changes us for the better. I certainly have seen that as I cover Capitol Hill.

One watched the mothers of young soldiers during the movement to end the war in Vietnam who had never performed a political act in their lives before; they suddenly began to understand what political power is. One sees farmers, one sees all sorts of groups, come to the Capitol and begin to understand what can happen if they can get around to explain things to people and present their views and perhaps even present a plan. They begin to understand that they can make something happen, and it's always, as Jimmie Powell pointed out, an experience that changes the people who have the experience.

IGLITZIN:

. . . I have a problem with the notion that the volunteer sector and the private sector are going to pick up the slack. I know an awful lot of people in the state and the city that I come from—very good people—who care very deeply about their community, especially in that nonprofit sector, especially in the areas of social concerns and welfare (we haven't even mentioned poor people). A lot of those people are very concerned about what is going to happen if people who care very deeply are unable to fill the gap.

. . . the theme I hear over and over on the part of private foundations and companies is "We can in no way pick up the slack." There isn't enough money—not to mention the very bad economic times that the companies themselves are going through.

I think there is a sense in the Reagan administration that somehow this huge responsibility is going to be picked up out there, but even if you admit that there are a lot of good folks who would like to do it—a lot of business people, a

lot of church people—these groups are meeting continually, and they're saying, "There's no way."

WERTHEIMER:

I would like to ask our panelists to tell us from their own perspectives what they think will happen in terms of citizen participation in government if we start shipping programs back to the states. Do citizens participate better at the state level? Will it be better—or worse?

POWELL:

. . . in terms of numbers, there would be less participation. There generally is less participation at the state level.

What it would mean, though, is that there will be greater opportunity for people, if they choose it, to be involved in the decisions about how government is going to spend money or solve the newest social problem. I think it would be a positive development.

IGLITZIN:

I find the whole topic of New Federalism so complicated that I just assume it's going to go over the heads of most of the people in this country.

I don't think it's going to make a darn bit of difference. I think people are angry; they're upset. People are feeling the effects of inflation and recession; social programs are being cut right and left. . . . whether it is the state or the federal level of grant that is being cut is not an issue that most people are going to care about.

WERTHEIMER:

Does that mean that, in our roles as citizens of this country, we simply decide that there are a lot of things that we don't want to do? Does New Federalism mean that we have reduced our goals as citizens?

. . . I really feel like a traditionalist saying this, but I think if we leave all the decisions to be made in the back of some corporate boardroom, we'll find that they're people with values, just as the rest of us are, and they're going to choose to fight some things and not others, just the way we would do. They're no different, no better or worse, than we are. But when our representatives are making those decisions—and the press is talking about what they're doing—we find out what's going on, so that, for better or worse, we can say later on, "Hey, we don't like those decisions you made."

Maybe a lot of the people don't want to fund a lot of the things that we've been funding. I don't argue with that, but I'm nervous about depoliticizing. In contrast to you, Mr. Hogan, who thinks New Federalism is going to politicize society, I think all this is going to depoliticize it, and that makes me nervous, because I would rather keep decisions in the political process where we can, if we choose, "throw the bastards out."

HOGAN:

I think there will be a great deal more participation by citizens and, it's going to result in increased congressional activity. As I see it, what the President is suggesting is a way of minimizing the role of the executive branch, which would mean that, in order to veto what he is proposing, people will have to go to Congress which would mean that they will have to become politically active.

I see a revival of the party structures. I anticipate ways in which the elected officials will give strength and vitality to the parties marked by domination of the presidential nomination process. The majority of the delegates to the next convention may well come from elected people at the state and congressional level. If you have party discipline, then there is a reason to vote.

. . . under our present system, most people, looking at what is possible for them, see themselves as one individual in an adamant political system and say "What's the point of one vote, one way or another?" But, in terms of affecting the results of an election in a self-interest society, unless you are a member of an interest that carries 5 percent of the vote or so, you don't have much chance. That will change, I think, once we restore party structure. I think that the kind of national dialogue that we are participating in now will restore party structure and, with it, an interest in participation by the individual citizen in the election process.

SMITH:

I honestly don't think it will make a bit of difference. I have said that, and I have to say it still. I don't happen to be a great fan of political science voting studies—they're not terribly interesting—but all the studies I know suggest that the lower down you go—from the nation, to the state, to the county, to the city and the town—the more participation falls off, in general. The highest participation is at the national level, and the lowest participation is at the city level. When you get to a school board election, you have virtually no participation. I don't see anything in New Federalism that is likely to change that fairly well-established pattern of behavior on the part of the American voter.

HITCHNER:

In the long run, I tend to agree with Professor Smith that New Federalism won't make a lot of difference by itself.

In the short run, however, I think that the New Federalism proposals, on the domestic side, along with the budgetary actions that the administration has proposed, are causing a lot of citizens in this country to question the basic purpose of their government. At the same time, we are seeing one of the most profound movements for citizen participation in foreign affairs, in response to the nuclear arms policy. So I see both of those movements coming together. I think we are in for a very stimulating, very challenging period; and we are going to see increased participation at all levels of government for the next year or two, because these very fundamental values have been called into question.

. . . one of the real challenges I see for the organizations represented here today is how to sustain that! How can we make people feel that participation has made some difference—that the effort has been worthwhile? If people emerge from this period with increased frustration, I'd worry about the future.

GENERAL SESSION II

Monday, May 17

"New Federalism Means New Decisions: What is the Citizen's Role?"

Moderator:
The Honorable John Buchanan, Jr.
Former Congressman (R-Ala.)
Speakers:
Congressman Robert Edgar (D-Pa.)
Congressman James Leach (R-Iowa)

John Buchanan and Bob Edgar

BUCHANAN:

We are privileged to have here this morning two people, each of whom in his own way is a part of the strength and the hope of the United States House of Representatives and of our country itself. These are very impressive men who have already made their marks on the Congress, and they are both still in their thirties.

EDGAR:

On November 4, 1980, a new attitude was elected to the Congress of the United States and to the White House. This new attitude came sweeping into the House and Senate and into the White House saying that government was the enemy, and if we get government off our back and out of our pockets, things will get better; if we simply do four or five specific things—cut domestic spending, cut taxes, increase defense, balance the budget, clean up the regulatory problems that we face—all will be well in the world. We'll solve inflation, unemployment, high interest rates, the energy problem—all we need is a new agenda, a new direction.... this new direction was to be represented by a magic term called "New Federalism."

... but let me say, that, after all my criticism of the new administration, I don't think New Federalism is all bad. The President may be doing all of us a service by forcing us to rethink where we need to go in the eighties and nineties in order to make way for the future. Moderate and liberal Democrats, and moderate and liberal Republicans alike need to begin to ask the question, "What is the appropriate level of government to respond to the needs of people?" And if out of the discussion of New Federalism we invent some new models, if we begin to think more creatively, and if the federal government, state governments, and local governments work better, then I think there will be a plus for New Federalism.

... New Federalism, with regard to citizen participation, is going to demand a re-education of the population, and I'm afraid that unless that re-education is done well, we'll have the same experience we had when we put revenue sharing in; revenue sharing was used to offset the rises in local taxes. When senior citizens groups and human relations groups and police clergy unit groups went to the city and to the communities and said "Revenue sharing is in place, now you're supposed to help senior citizens and children and day-care centers and recreation centers," the local politicians said, "Sorry, there's no money."

Jim Leach

LEACH:

... New Federalism has some conditional and actual implications at this time—conditional in the sense that there are proposals which imply the shifting of authority, even though many are still simply proposals. However, some actual implications are very much in place today that relate most profoundly to the reduction in spending; in government, particularly with regard to programs, money is power, and when money is shifted from one area to another or the amount of money for certain programs is decreased, actual power is also decreased. So we are seeing a shift away from Washington, but in part it is less a shift than the creation of a vacuum; when responsibilities are transferred without a corresponding transfer in resources, the result, to some extent, is a denial of responsibility and, therefore, a vacuum situation.

... Many of the programmatic cuts that are now being envisioned imply a loss of power at the citizenship level, where community action has been playing a growing role. We are seeing local

community-action groups losing power vis-a-vis the federal government as well as to state and local government. We are seeing a return to what is in effect the more traditional American citizenship participation, not the more radical citizenship of the 60's.

. . . New Federalism may not be an enormous victory for citizenship, but there are some aspects of New Federalism that may, in the final measure, be a victory for pragmatism, simply because the pragmatists dominate local government.

BUCHANAN:

Gentlemen, in light of the New Federalism, and to the extent you can, I would ask you to address the following questions: What should the citizen's role be in the determination of equitable, effective, and constitutional divisions of responsibility between government and private and voluntary sectors; between the different levels of federal, state, and local government? What kinds of civic knowledge, values, and skills will individual citizens need as requisites for their effective participation in decision-making processes for the 1980's? and what are the appropriate roles for the following institutions to assume in promoting informed and responsible citizenship: educational institutions, voluntary, philanthropic and religious groups, business and labor groups, print and electronic media?

EDGAR:

I think that the three or four questions that were asked are important ones. Let me try to be very brief. "What should the citizen's role be?" It seems to me that we need to help our citizens throughout the nation relearn their seventh-grade civic lessons. I have met an awful lot of people who haven't the vaguest idea what goes on in government. They ask, occasionally: How often do you have to run, Congressman? Where do you come from? What do you represent? I think in a time of survival, when people are traumatized economically, when they are having difficulty in making ends meet in their own lives, Washington and its processes seem irrelevant to them. Yet, Washington and state capitals and local governments will have an important role in the 80's and 90's in shaping their lives and so I would hope that they will relearn basic lessons of government.

What kind of skills do we need? I think we need to learn how to lobby well at the federal and state level. For example, if citizens are concerned about education for the handicapped, then they are going to have to shift their efforts from the federal government to the state government. One kind of thing we are going to have to do is teach them how to be effective lobbyists with their elected officials. I think there are four good ways to lobby an elected official. Let me list them out quickly: The first is eye contact. Set up a half-hour meeting in the district office of your elected official—federal, state, or local official—and come prepared with a one-or-two-page white paper on the issues. Teach those elected officials with that eye-contact visit.

Next is the telephone contact. Once you know your officials by name and have briefed them once every six months on the issues you are concerned about, the use of the telephone, I believe, is critical.

Third is figuring out the staff people who have assignments for your concerns. If you're from academic institutions, find out who has the portfolio. Find out whose office they work in and what their names are. Get to know these people.

Finally, there is direct mail. Keep to one issue per page. And I have to tell you that form letters, form postcards, and form petitions have little or no meaning in today's society.

. . . I think it would be very helpful for you to come to Washington not just for a conference but to ask your congressman or senator if you can walk with him for a whole day—to all the committee meetings, go over to the house floor, go to the lunches, receptions—spend the whole day walking alongside your elected official. Then turn it around and take that elected official to your institution—not for a speech, but for an opportunity to get some direct ideas of what's happening. If you have a service-type institution, let them work inside that institution. Help them to see what that institution actually does. Or if you are working with community and neighborhood groups, help the groups to get their congressman or staff to go to that setting. I take it that you're interested in the humanities, interested in education, interested in health care; then for each discipline, you should have those elected officials walk a day in your shoes, so that when they vote on that issue they will have a concrete image in mind.

LEACH:

When you get right down to it, maybe the greatest citizens dilemma today is how to look at the problems and figure out a way to do something about them. I would say there are three basic problems:

First is the issues of what responsibilities elected officials have in relationship to how they got elected. I think people should look at the electoral process—that implies looking at how money is raised in politics and doing something about it. And that, in turn, implies two things: either change national legislation to limit money or educate the public about the role money plays in politics.

Second is the issue of the ideas the candidates present; for example, what candidates may say in elections. I think one of the greatest scandals in national politics is what people will say to get to Washington. That isn't to say that they break their promises, but often they don't keep them, either.

Finally, I'm tempted to say, in contrast to Mr. Leach, don't make too many demands on your elected representatives, and don't have too much eye contact, because the fact is that we are such an enormously fractionalized country, with so many groups, that here in Washington, there is almost no time to deal on a serious basis with the serious business of legislation. The greatest favor you can do an elected representative is to demand his time only when you have something extremely specific and extremely important to get across. There is nothing that I, as an elected representative, am more sensitive to than time that is basically procedural and social, rather than substantive.

BUCHANAN:

Thank you, Jim and Bob. We have certainly had some significant and provocative thoughts presented to us this morning. Before you move onto our second session, let me share with you some notions that were advanced by a distinguished black writer named Paul Lawrence Dunbar, writing in the vernacular of his time, about the turn of the century:

"The man who simply sits and waits, for good to come along, Ain't worth the time it takes to tell him that he's wrong. For good ain't flowing around this world for any fool to sup. You've got to put your shoes on and go and hunt it up."

We've got to put our "shoes" on if we're going to advance citizenship in this nation. That's our challenge.

GENERAL SESSION III

Monday, May 17, 1982

"New Directions for Civic Learning in the "80's"

Speaker: DAVID MATHEWS
President, Charles F. Kettering Foundation

Clearly there can be no viable political life, no viable institutions of government . . . without there being a foundation of "public" awareness and spirit . . .

. . . "Public," may be defined as an awareness of our relationship to others (those outside our families). It is both an awareness of the consequences of our actions on others and of the potential benefit in our association with others. It is an awareness of both direct and indirect consequence. And it is an awareness of near-term and long-term effect. It implies a comprehensiveness in perspective. . . .

Absent public awareness and spirit, absent the ability to translate individual concerns into larger common concerns, absent the people's ability to understand not just the particulars but the relationships of the whole, there exists not civic competence or literacy but rather civic illiteracy, a diminished "public" capacity.

. . . We are not a polarized, special interest state by accident. We work at it. Most of our information comes to us when we are alone sitting in front of a television set or reading a newspaper, or in the company of people like us. If we learn that way, what does that say about our capacity to understand, in a very heterogeneous society, what we hold in common? When and where do we work on finding what we have in common? Where are the institutions that take this as a serious mission?

We do have institutions with a mandate to convene the public. They are colleges and universities, junior and community colleges, museums and libraries, local civic organizations, and their national counterparts. We don't need more forums, but we do need forums based on new models of public policy education. We don't need just more information on specific issues; we need forums to help us form individual interests into common interests. We know a great deal about how we differ; we need to know more about where we can agree. Citizens will seldom develop public sensitivities and public spirit, seldom see the interrelations of all the divisions of policy, seldom become fully literate or competent without such places.

. . . We need institutions, convening institutions, to give us the public places, the public forums of the kind to make history—places where individual people can come to know what they are as a public.

David Mathews

Speaker: MARGARET HOLT
Social Science Program Specialist
Center for Continuing Education, University of Georgia

A group of institutions has recently come together to meet that need Dr. Mathews has described. They call themselves the Domestic Policy Association and they have undertaken an ambitious task.

It is a task to build a network between educating institutions and other organizations commonly in the business of convening people for informed discussions. What these organizations are being asked to do is nothing new for them; they do it all the time. What is new is that they are being asked to attempt it together—that is, to hold discussions of the same public policy issues at approximately the same time.

Last summer at The Johnson Foundation's Wingspread Conference Center, fourteen institutions, including community colleges, universities, libraries, museums, student organizations and rural organizations to name a few types, joined together to barter—that is, each would bring what it had to the venture.

The fall of 1982 begins a pilot year for the Domestic Policy Association, during which these institutions have pledged without special funding to activate approximately 45 public policy discussions across the country on three large policy matters: (1), chronic inflation; (2), social security; and (3), jobs and productivity.

With the assistance of Daniel Yankelovich and The Public Agenda Foundation and citizens in communities where steering organizations are located, issues were identified to initiate what are now called National Issues Forums. The general goal is to empower people to be effective in a civic system based upon the belief that an informed, responsible public will bring about a responsive government.

The Public Agenda Foundation, an independent, nonpartisan institution involved in the analysis of public policy issues, is preparing papers which present policy alternatives for each of the issues. The papers will be published as a discussion guide to be used in the fall series. A procedure for reporting the views of the forum participants will be developed by the Association. Results will be conveyed to the policymakers at a national conference scheduled early in 1983 at one of the U.S. Presidential libraries.

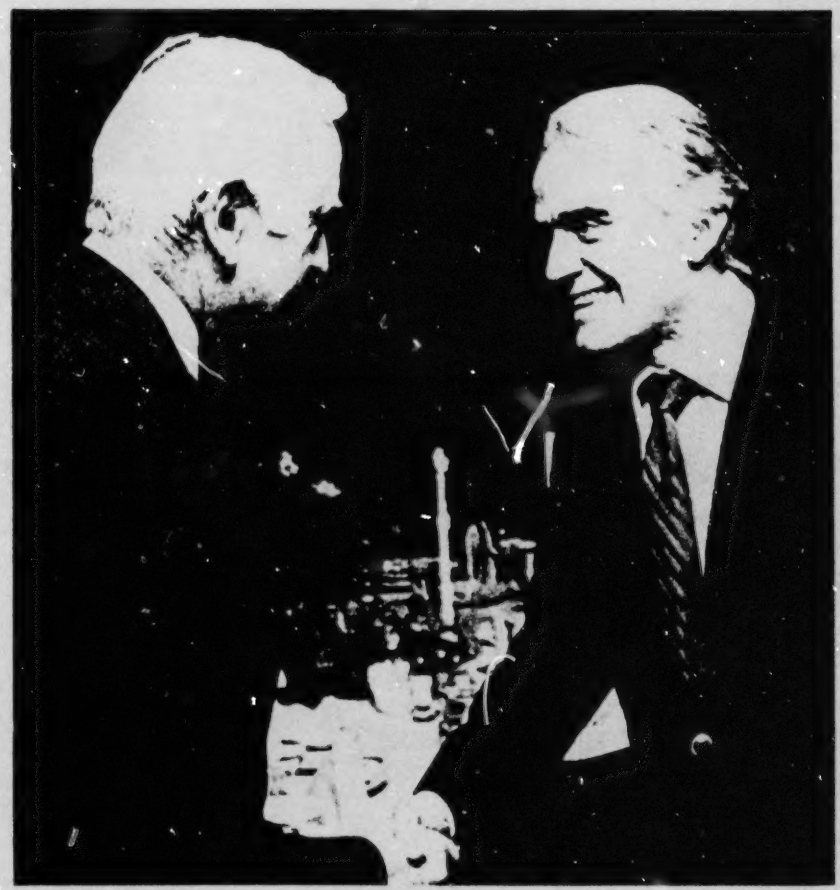
"Alexis de Tocqueville said, "When I am told that the laws are weak and the population is wild, that passions are excited and virtue is paralyzed, and that in this situation it would be madness to think of increasing the rights of the people, I reply, it is for these very reasons that they should be increased." The Domestic Policy Association is an idea long overdue, and if we don't get on with it at once, we may stand to lose something very precious.

GENERAL SESSION IV

Monday, May 17, 1982

Citizenship and the Changing Role of the Presidency

Speaker: JACK VALENTI
President, Motion Picture Association of America



R. Freeman Butts and Jack Valenti

In the last fifteen years the modern U.S. presidency has changed radically. . . . the spurs to that change, which have occurred in all western democracies, are instant communication, the narrowing of alternatives available to the chief executive, and the breakdown in discipline within the various parts of the government and society. The deadly finality of the weaponry of war and the growing obscurities of economics have, together, distorted the lines of presidential persuasion, giving rise to a steadily spreading laxity in the reins of government.

. . . Given these slippages in discipline, these erosions of once-firm beliefs, and the telescoping of time and crisis, how is the president to manage, direct, inspire, and finally decide on the issues?

Over the next twenty years, the United States President will have to convert the traditional presidency into something more adaptable to the perilous fragility of the national and international community. He must change the presidency because of several changes in our national situation:

*• **Obscuring of the issues.** There are no longer any readily identifiable archdemons presiding over easily recognizable barriers. There are no clearly defined targets. . . .*

*• **Fragmentation and balkanization of the Congress.** There are no centers of congressional power any more with whom a president can negotiate agreements for the good of all the people. Congress is fractured into subcommittees with a total breakdown in party loyalty, with maverick self-interest and constituency concerns in its place. . . .*

*• **Instant communication.** The collapse of restraints over what is and is not printed in the press and displayed on video is a spike in the heart of the presidency. Venom is telescoped, and so, therefore, is time. . . .*

*• **A decline of faith of government.** The public is losing its belief in the ability of the government, particularly the president and the Congress, to make beneficial changes in the quality of their lives. . . .*

The one durable asset of the presidency that remains curiously intact, and which no future president ought to disturb or demean, is the lore, the mystique, the magic of the office. . . .

. . . What, then, is the major change that should be made in the conduct of the future presidency? The president must strengthen his role as educator-communicator. He must, in effect, become a citizenship educator. This means less emphasis would be placed on managerial, administrative roles and more on being teacher/inspirer of the public. . . . The president has to select a few issues, the ones that cut to the bone of the nation's problems, and concentrate on them, think hard about them, and devise solutions. Then he must go to the people on television again and again to explain simply, lucidly, clearly, and possibly eloquently what the problem is, why it is important to the people, and what he needs them to do to help solve it.

SPECIAL EVENT TELECAST LIVE TO C-SPAN's NATIONAL NETWORK

Tuesday, May 18, 1982

"New Decisions at the Grass Roots: New Roles for Citizens?"

Moderator: STEPHEN A. JANGER
Speakers: SENATOR DAVE DURENBERGER (R-Minn.)
VINCENT REED, Vice President, *The Washington Post*

JANGER:

In your view, what would the New Federalism mean to the person in the street?

DURENBERGER:

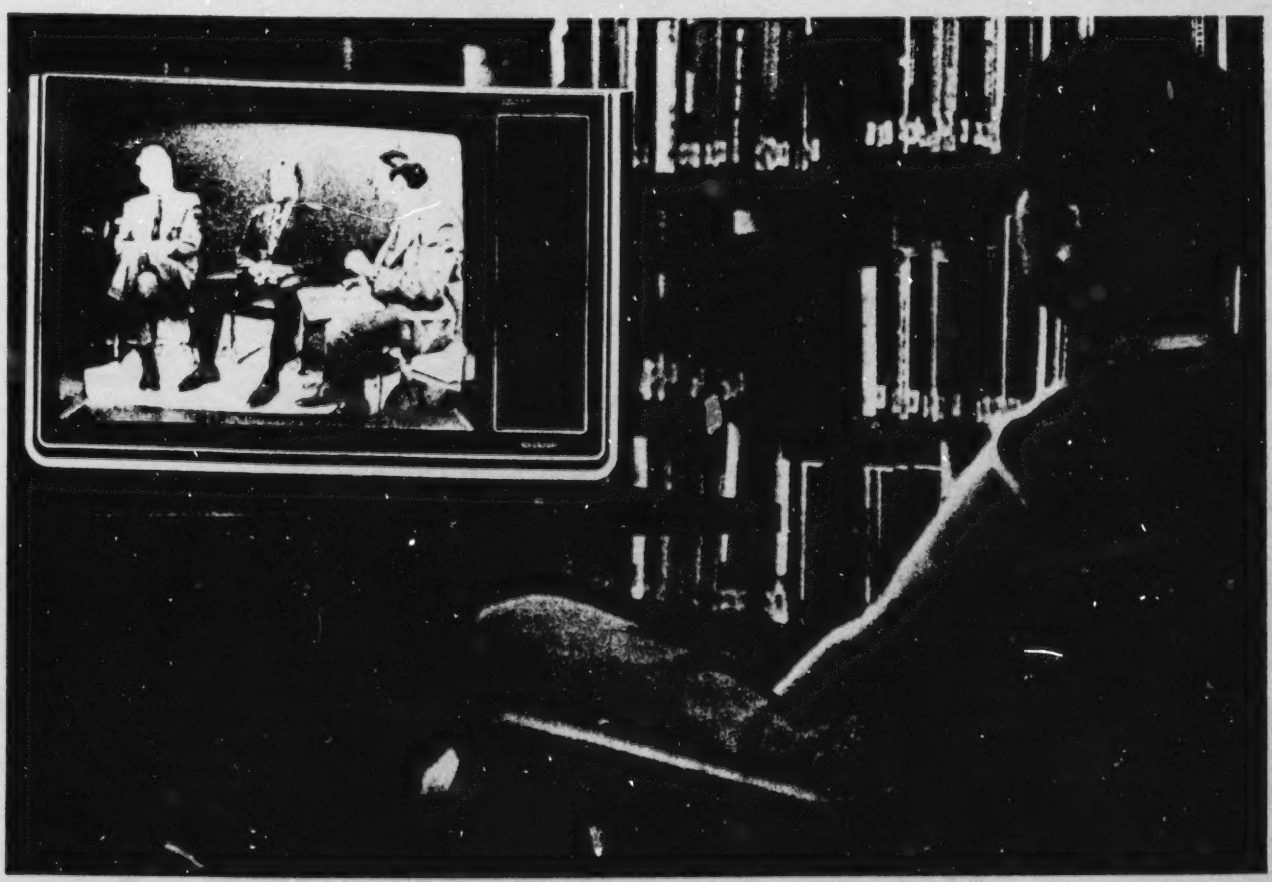
The answer to that, of course, depends on what New Federalism ends up being, since for now it's mainly a concept. But my particular notion is that it can be more than a realignment of the federal system—more than just going back to the Constitutional debates and saying that we can do things differently. It can be a re-awakening and re-enlivening of the pluralistic nature of American society.

To me it's an opportunity to go back and take advantage of the individual as a person, and also as part of an institution—the family, the schools, the church, voluntary associations, trade unions, the business enterprise, and government—and find that combination that's always unique in America: the one that does the best job of meeting the needs of the individual members of our society.

REED:

It means that the decisions that affect people's lives will be made closer to the street level—closer to those people that are affected by the decisions. As monies come down from the federal government, decisions will have to be made by people who live in the communities where consumers are, and, instead of blaming the federal government, those individuals will have to spend a great deal of time lobbying the individuals who will make those decisions. And they are going to have to understand the issues and know what they are talking about!

Most of the people that I've talked to don't understand what New Federalism is; we have not been able to tell people in this country what we're trying to do, and until we do, it's going to be hard to sell.



Dave Durenberger, Vincent Reed, and Stephen Janger

The following report was compiled for the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship by Margery Kraus, Vice President, Close Up Foundation and Patricia Piety, Associate, Charles F. Kettering Foundation from recommendations formulated in the various roundtable discussion groups at the Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum. The statement was reviewed and revised by the Forum conferees at the final session and is presented here for further study, discussion and action by readers.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AGENDAS FOR THE 80'S

May 16-18, 1982
INAUGURAL JENNINGS RANDOLPH FORUM
Georgetown Marbury House

How will the apparent shift to New Federalism in the 1980s affect the individual citizen and his participation in America's future? . . . . .

. . . . . The consensus of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship is that individuals must become better informed about and more active at all levels of government, or they may find themselves watching helplessly while special-interest groups take over . . . . .

. . . . . "Civic literacy" must become a priority for educational institutions working in collaboration with all other sectors; it is a requisite for effective and responsible participation in the decision-making processes of a democratic society.

The comprehensive charge to conferees at the first annual Jennings Randolph Forum was to examine President Reagan's proposal for New Federalism to see if it required a changing role for American citizenship and a corresponding need for reform in citizenship education. The intent of the Forum was to focus, not upon specific economic details for proposed budget cuts, tax cuts, or swaps between Federal and state governments, but rather upon the ramifications that these New Federalism changes may have for the ways in which people have traditionally executed their "office of citizen."

As part of that exercise, conferees were asked to anticipate the *civic values, knowledge* and *skills* that citizens will need to participate effectively in the decision-making processes of the 80's. They were also asked to recommend *roles* and *responsibilities* for all sectors of our society in providing the needed citizenship education programs.

Some conferees, after assessing the President's proposal believed that the New Federalism was actually a return to the old federalism of the founders; others believed it was a radical departure. Some favored it; others were opposed. There was, however, general consensus that changes in governmental decision-making processes that would be required as a result of the New Federalism do call for a reassessment of America's historical political system and the role of the citizen in that system.

Further motivation for embarking upon a re-examination of the historical and evolving relationship between federalism and citizenship was provided by the upcoming bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution in 1987. The conferees agreed that the Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum was a timely occasion to begin a re-examination of the fundamental meanings of American citizenship, as it has developed over 200 years and now looks to the future.

At small group roundtable discussions, enriched by specially prepared background papers and supporting documents, interspersed by five general sessions, one of which was telecast live nationwide, the conferees arrived at the following recommendations for citizenship education programs that would equip the populace for civic dialogue, participation and action as informed, effective and responsible citizens in the 80's.

The background papers, establishing a historical context for the Forum, dealt with the continuing tensions between freely competing groups in a special-interest society and a society held together by shared concepts of the common good. Conferees tended to agree that while special-interest competition has been a significant reality in the American system, such competition should rest upon certain fundamental values embedded in the Constitution to protect the public good and nurtured by civic education throughout our history. These fundamental civic values, generally held in common by our citizenry, provide the underpinning for all successful citizenship education efforts. Conferees concurred that they include:

CIVIC VALUES:

- the Constitutional concepts of justice, freedom, equality, and the importance of the individual;
- the rule of law and due process;
- acceptance of individual responsibility for the public good;
- enlightened self-interest;
- freedom of belief and expression, diversity of opinion, and the interchange of ideas;
- experimentation, periodic review, and constructive change or growth, and;
- citizen participation.

Building from this base of fundamental civic values, the conferees agreed that citizenship education programs in the 1980s must encompass a substantial range of *knowledge* and *skills*.

CIVIC KNOWLEDGE:

The informed citizen in the 80's will need to understand:

- The U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights; their underlying principles and values;

- United States history;
- contemporary issues—from historical, futuristic, and global perspectives;
- structure and functions of government—with special emphasis on practical information about structures that affect the individual;
- channels of authority and legitimacy in the political process;
- due-process procedures;
- voting procedures;
- basic law and jurisprudence;
- various subcultures and groups in society;
- new interactive telecommunication technologies for citizen participation.

To cope with the current knowledge gap citizen understanding must be based upon sound scholarship founded in the disciplines of the humanities and social science.

CIVIC SKILLS:

Knowledge alone is not enough for effective participation. The effective citizen of the 80's will also need to acquire such skills as the following:

- Communication skills: reading, writing, listening;
- Information processing skills: collection, synthesis, analysis, evaluation, interpretation, and application. Special attention should be given to providing students with a thorough understanding of persuasion techniques, to enable them to discriminate among information, opinion, and attempts to manipulate attitudes or behavior.
- Consensus-building, bargaining, conflict-management skills;
- Organizing, networking and coalition-building skills;
- Independent thinking skills;
- Skills in using interactive telecommunication technologies, and;
- Teamwork skills.

Conferees agreed that the best preparation for full participation in society and government involves learning by doing; that is, educational experiences for citizens of all ages should take place within the context of life situations, as well as in the classroom and through textbook instruction. Citizenship education programs should include "hands-on" practical components.

CIVIC ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

The Forum conferees agreed that all sectors of our society have citizenship and citizenship education responsibilities; education for the "office of citizen" is not the sole province of the schools. Roundtable discussions were replete with examples of how other sectors could participate. In particular instances, given the diversity of their resources, other groups could make even more effective contributions to civic literacy than the traditional providers.

There was consensus among the conferees that the challenge would be best met if approached in a collaborative manner by the many institutions of which our society is composed. The conferees recommended that:

All Groups, Organizations and Institutions should:

- analyze and evaluate their own roles and activities to determine how they might help those within their groups and others to become better informed, more effective and responsible citizens.
- work together to strengthen the collaborative-effort language in their materials, publications, and public utterances by:

  . . . . . setting joint citizenship education agendas,

  . . . . . assigning specific responsibilities for citizenship education collaboration to staff members, and

  . . . . . monitoring the progress of collaborative citizenship education efforts.
- encourage those not involved in organized groups to join their citizenship education programs.
- provide service to school systems by serving on decision-making bodies and assisting in the development and implementation of citizenship education programs.
- encourage greater involvement of fraternal/civic/voluntary institutions in citizenship education activity.
- begin to plan special citizenship education programs for the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, making "Constitutional literacy" a priority.

Additional recommendations were made specifically to the media, business and labor groups, voluntary organizations, educational and cultural institutions and the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship.

The Media should:

- increase and improve public affairs programming on civic issues, processes, and substance.
- develop creative educational uses related to civic literacy for cable TV, such as bringing "experts" on civic literacy issues into the classroom.
- work with educators and other programmers to develop appropriate uses for interactive telecommunications technology as a citizen participation resource.
- provide promotional coverage and substantive programming for public forums.
- help preserve the guarantees of the First Amendment through more balanced programming.
- take more responsibility for separating fact from expressions of opinions.
- encourage schools to use media programs as classroom citizenship education materials.

Business and Labor Organizations should:

- provide financial support for activities which encourage citizenship education.
- offer educational institutions the opportunity to conduct citizenship awareness programs for employees and encourage employees to attend such programs.
- lend facilities for public gatherings and education forums.
- lend personnel for community service.
- develop creative ads for public-service media.

Voluntary Organizations should:

- develop collaborative efforts for coalition-building.

- serve as mediating structures in determining local needs and priorities.
- serve as catalysts to convene cooperative activities in the community.

Educational Institutions should:

- develop more scholarly and substantive materials at all educational levels to help define principles, processes, values, and civic virtues that should form the basis of civic education programs for citizens of all ages.
- help to develop civic literacy, competence, and responsibility through programs that:
  ..... teach the relationships between civic values and political structures
  ..... tap community resources for developing basic civic learning activities
  ... promote the need for improved civic education and develop community support for improvement
  ..... help citizens to learn to deal constructively with conflict.
- work to enhance teacher training and the quality of teaching with regard to citizenship at all educational levels.
- provide experience-oriented learning through classroom simulations and actual community activity.
- work collaboratively on citizenship education among themselves at elementary, secondary and higher education levels.

Cultural Institutions should:

- assume citizenship education as a community service program
- collaborate with other citizenship education providers by making available their facilities and resources such as book and film collections and museum exhibits on civic education themes.

And, finally, conferees offered the following recommendations to the Forum's sponsor, the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, for its agenda during the coming year:

Council for the Advancement of Citizenship should:

- initiate procedures to involve all sectors of society at national, state, local and community levels in promoting the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
- serve as a catalyst to encourage collaboration on citizenship education projects among many groups, despite their differences.
- sponsor workshops and conferences for member organizations to demonstrate effective techniques and programs for citizenship education.
- begin to plan a special citizenship program for the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, in which CAC members, collaboratively or individually, can study, analyze and discuss selected constitutional concepts related to American citizenship and civic values.
- encourage federal, state and local governments to make their resources available for citizenship education programs.
- urge the full spectrum of groups, organizations, associations and institutions to take steps toward making Constitutional literacy a priority in their educational efforts.

IN SUMMARY:

One hundred leaders from government, education, business, labor, the voluntary sector and the media met in May 1982 for three days at the Inaugural Jennings Randolph Forum in Washington, DC to:

- consider the relationship between the proposed New Federalism and the idea of American citizenship; and,
- identify, discuss and recommend the civic values, knowledge and skills that individuals will need to be effective citizens in the 80's.

While they agreed on many matters there were issues upon which they differed. Such was not the case, however, with the following three points which aptly reflect the tenor of the Forum and upon which there was full consensus:

- *Citizenship education should be a priority for educational institutions in the 80s* ..... educational institutions being defined in the broadest sense to include all institutions that provide formal and/or informal lifelong learning instruction for their publics.
- *Educational institutions alone cannot do the job:* the ultimate success of the civic literacy educational effort depends upon a creative partnership among many parts of society, including government, the voluntary sector, business, labor, the media, cultural institutions, the family and others ..... with the educational community assuming a leadership role.
- *Citizenship education programs must be based upon a core of fundamental personal as well as civic values* which include respect for individual freedom, honesty, responsibility, courage and compassion. Those responsible for developing and implementing citizenship education programs must turn for their resource materials to the founding documents and to sound scholarship in history, political and social science, literature, philosophy, constitutional law and jurisprudence.

FORUM SPEAKERS

JOHN H. BUCHANAN, JR., served the 6th District of Alabama for eight terms as its Republican Congressman. He is currently Executive Director of the Congressional Sunbelt Council and Chairman of the Board for the Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education. His deep involvement in major education legislation has been widely recognized by numerous educational organizations.

R. FREEMAN BUTTS is William F. Russell Professor Emeritus in the Foundations of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. His most recent book is *The Revival of Civic Learning* published by Phi Delta Kappa Foundation in 1980. Dr. Butts, Chairman of the Jennings Randolph Forum, is a Senior Fellow at the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and also serves in an advisory capacity to other organizations involved in the area of citizenship education.

SENATOR DAVE DURENBERGER, senior Republican Senator from Minnesota is Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, which is responsible for addressing many of the issues raised by the New Federalism. Prior to his election in 1978, Senator Durenberger was an executive with the H.B. Fuller Company and was a strong promoter of corporate citizenship in the community. He serves on the Finance, Governmental Affairs, Intelligence and Aging Committees.

REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT W. EDGAR (D-Pa.-7th) was a minister and a university chaplain before he was elected to Congress in 1974. He has been elected three times in a heavily Republican district and serves on the Public Works and Transportation and Veterans' Affairs Committees.

DIANE U. EISENBERG serves as Executive Director of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship and Associate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. She has directed numerous citizenship education national issues discussion programs and is presently assisting with the development of the new Domestic Policy Association.

STEPHEN HITCHNER has recently accepted the position of Vice President for Issue Development of Common Cause. He founded and directed the Office of Policy and Management Analysis at the Department of Criminal Justice and has also served as Director of the Case Studies Program at the Institute of Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

LYNNE B. IGLITZIN was appointed as Executive Director of the National Council for the Social Studies (17,000 members) shortly after their 1981 national meeting. She has worked in higher education in academic and administration capacities since 1960, and has extensive experience in community service activities including nine years as President of ACLU in the state of Washington.

STEPHEN A. JANGER has served as the first president of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship since June of 1981. As President of the Close Up Foundation, which conducts one of the nation's largest citizenship education programs, he took an active interest in the establishment of the Council and worked on the original advisory committee. Prior to Close Up he worked in private business and in the Office of Protocol in the Department of State.

MARGERY KRAUS is Vice President of the Close Up Foundation where her numerous duties include overseeing all of the organization's academic publications, Capitol Hill liaison, and national and community funding. Her educational views have been sought by a number of national commissions, and she was recently nominated to Who's Who of American Women.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES LEACH (R-Iowa-1st) began his political career as a congressional staff member, worked in various governmental posts, and became president of a family business before his election to Congress in 1976. He serves on the Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and Foreign Affairs Committees.

DAVID MATHEWS is President of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. He served as United States Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the administration of President Gerald Ford and was president of the University of Alabama for 11 years. Dr. Mathews is a noted speaker and author on citizenship and public policy issues, and currently serves as President of the National Consortium for Public Policy Education.

JIMMIE POWELL is Staff Director of the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations in the Senate. This subcommittee deals primarily with relations between the federal and state governments and is chaired by Senator Dave Durenberger. Mr. Powell previously served as his legislative assistant specializing in energy policy.

SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH (D-W.Va.) During his long and active career, Senator Randolph has been a journalist, college professor and airlines executive. His outstanding public service commitment has spanned almost 50 years as a member of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate. He currently serves as a member of the Environment and Public Works, Labor and Human Resources, and Veterans' Affairs Committees.

VINCENT REED capped his 25-year career in the District of Columbia public school system by serving as superintendent for five years. In 1981, President Reagan appointed him Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education in the Department of Education. The holder of three honorary degrees, Dr. Reed currently serves as Vice President for Communications at *The Washington Post*.

JACK VALENTI is President of the Motion Picture Association of America, the Motion Picture Export Association of America and the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers. Mr. Valenti served as Special Assistant to President Lyndon Johnson from 1963 through 1966, and has lectured and written extensively on the American presidency.

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The Council for the Advancement of Citizenship (CAC)
is a nonprofit, nonpartisan national consortium of organizations and individuals committed to promoting informed and responsible citizenship.

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